

Codebook

Voting with Putin: Gender, LGBT Rights, and Tacit Support for Russia among Europe's Parliamentarians

Jana Lipps and Erik Voeten

April 10, 2025

`PACE_Russia_data_final.rds`: Dataset used for statistical analyses

1. MP-level variables

- `MP_ID`: Personal MP identifier
- `country`: two digit country code for MP home country
- `natparty_vpartyname`: National party of the MP - a merged `country_name` and `partyname` variable as scraped from PACE website and harmonized with the V-Party data. Created to merge roll call data with V-Party data.
- `pronoun`: The pronoun of the MP as indicated on their PACE profile
- `female`: A binary indicator for whether the MP uses male (Mr, M., Sir, Lord) or female (Ms, Mme, Dame, Lady, Baroness) pronouns. 1 if pronoun is female, 0 otherwise.

2. Party-level variables

- `v2paenname`: party name in english as in V-Party dataset
- `v2paid`: party identifier as in V-Party
- `v2palgbt`: What is this party's position toward social equality for the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) community? Continuous variable ranges from 0=strongly opposes to 4= strongly supports (V-Party)
- `v2pawomlab`: To what extent does this party support the equal participation of women in the labor market? Continuous variable ranges from 0=strongly opposes to 4 = strongly supports (V-Party)
- `v2paculsup`: To what extent does the party leadership promote the cultural superiority of a specific social group or the nation as a whole? Continuous variable ranges from 0= strongly promotes to 4= strongly opposes (V-Party)
item `Equality`: Average position of party-year on `v2palgbt`, `v2pawomlab` and `v2paculsup`.

- **v2pagender**: What is the share of women in national-level leadership positions of this political party? Continuous variable ranges from 0=none to 4=40perc or above (V-Party)
- **v2xpa_illiberal**: To what extent does the party show a lacking commitment to democratic norms prior to elections? Continuous variable ranges from 0=low to 1=high (V-Party)
- **v2xpa_popul**: To what extent do representatives of the party use populist rhetoric (narrowly defined)? Continuous variable ranges from 0=low to 1=high (V-Party)
- **Populist_Illiberal**: Average position of party-year on v2xpa_illiberal and v2xpa_popul.
- **v2pariglef**: Please locate the party in terms of its overall ideological stance on economic issues. Continuous variable ranged from 0=far-left to 6=far-right (V-Party)
- **galtan**: Position of the party in terms of their views on social and cultural values. Continuous variable ranging from 0=libertarian/post-materialist to 10=authoritarian/traditional (CHES)
- **eu_position**: Overall orientation of the party leadership towards European integration. Continuous variable ranging from 1= strongly opposed to 7=strongly in favour (CHES)
- **lrecon**: Position of the party in terms of its ideological stance on economic issues. Continuous variable ranges from 0=extreme left to 10=extreme right (CHES)
- **dove**: Hawk-dove scale from Kiratli, Osman Sabri. "Where do hawks and doves fly when shots are fired?." Party Politics 27.6 (2021): 1172-1183.

3. Roll call vote variables

- **docid**: identifier for the document voted on
- **docno**: Document number as assigned by PACE
- **doctype**: Document type (either Resolution, Recommendation, or Amendment)
- **doctitle**: Document title by PACE
- **voteid**: roll call vote identifier (several votes nested in documents)
- **docdate**: Date of the roll call vote
- **year**: Year
- **vote**: 1 if MP voted in favor, 0 if MP voted against, or abstained 0.5
- **yay**: binary indicator of whether an MP voted in favour (abstain is NA)
- **nay**: binary indicator of whether an MP voted against (abstain is NA)

4. Topics of documents

- **physint_handc**: binary indicator is 1 if the violation of physical integrity rights (as defined by PTS) by state agents are one of the major topics of the document (initial search by key words in full document text)

- `milit_handc`: binary indicator is 1 if major topic is a conflict in which one state threatens, displays, or uses force against one or more other states
- `tit.gender`: binary indicator is 1 if the title of the document mentions either of the search terms: LGBT, sex, women, gender, feminine, female, prostitution, abortion, pornography, forced marriage.

5. Russia-related variables

- `russia`: binary indicator of whether search terms are mentioned in document title: russia|crimea|caucasus|nemtsov|magnitsk|russian|putin|donetsk
- `russiaamend`: binary indicator whether search terms (see above) are mentioned in the amendment proposal (either text or explanatory note)
- `russia.handc`: hand-coding of additional Russia related issues
- `russia.combined`: binary indicator whether any of the above three suggested a vote is about Russia (always 1 in this dataset, as this is the subset of PACE votes about Russia)
- `international_handc`: binary indicator of whether document title indicates that vote is about international aggressions committed by Russia
- `russiamem`: votes about Russian membership in the Council of Europe and the suspension of voting rights of the Russian delegation in PACE
- `russianmp_vote`: binary indicator for whether any Russian MP was present to vote
- `ryes`: Number of Russian MPs that voted yes in this vote
- `rno`: Number of Russian MPs that voted no in this vote
- `rabstain`: Number of Russian MPs that abstained in this vote
- `rvote`: direction of Russian modal vote, 1 if majority voted in favour, 0 if majority voted against, and 0.5 if majority abstained
- `russiapos_handc`: in case the Russian delegation did not vote, we hand-code the position they were likely to take
- `russiaposition`: binary indicator that takes on the value 1, whenever either the hand-coding or the `rvote` suggest that the Russian delegation is in favour.
- `Y`: inverse absolute difference between `russiaposition` and an MP's vote, i.e. 1 indicates that an MP's vote aligned with the Russian position

6. Signatories to LGBT declarations

- `signat.all`: dummy for whether an MP signed a declaration in a session (=1), 0 if he did not sign and missing if no declaration was circulated
- `signat.russia`: binary indicator of whether an MP signed a declaration targeting Russia if one was circulated (1), otherwise 0, and missing if none was circulated
- `signat.notrussia`: binary indicator of whether an MP signed a declaration not targeting Russia (1), 0 if he did not sign, otherwise missing